1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits. In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fukuyama bearing gifts.

In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reaching to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and exchange gifts. This voyage was called *"Shamu Uimamu"* [Japan trade] and the boat used was a *"Uimamu Chippu"* [trade boat]. The sake received was *"uimamu"* sake or idiomatically *"Uimamu tonoto."* The word "uimamu" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu* [initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].[38] In 1739 the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

> Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo of remote areas did not come each year but those living near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki:* "It used to be that once during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated and called a *Uimamchipu";* and from *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they brought with them goods produced in their region. The Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial character and its emphasis became exclusively that of a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus, rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives. A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January 7 of each year.[39] On the occasion of each visit the Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

[38] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, Tsugaru ryōnai ni okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical materials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru), *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū* 2 (2).

[39] "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi.*

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.[40] This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand prepare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives, and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.[41] In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.[42] Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].[43] However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.[44] In the Ainu language the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. *"U"* means "mutually" and "musha" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Uruiruye* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

[40] *Tsugaru Kibun.*
[41] Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.
[42] Ishiba Takakado, Omusha Ko, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.
[43] *Tōkai Yawa.*
[44] Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

[R. 35(B)]

visit Matsumae to pay tribute, and that the Matsumae clan had taken advantage of this opportunity to impress the natives with its authority and to treat with them in various ways. This custom was continued by the Bakufu. Among the Sixty-nine articles on the Administration of the Ezo territory set up by the Ezo Commissioner that article which had provided that Ezo be brought to Edo so that they might be influenced into submission and their customs thereby changed was later cancelled by orders from high authority. This move was protested by the Commissioner in a memorandum of March, 1800:

> The reason for summoning *Otona* to Matsumae in the past was, in my opinion, to display Japanese power by showing them the weapons at the residence of the Lord Wakasa. In consideration of this practice and its significance it is my opinion that four or five *Otona* be summoned at least as far as Hakodate. The *Otona* of Akkeshi, Nemuro and other *Basho* should take their turns in different years in coming to Hakodate.[1]

It was not, however, until 1816 that this suggestion was put into practice.[2] At that time the Bakufu ruled that native representatives of each *Basho* should appear before and pay tribute to the Magistrate of Matsumae. These representatives were accompanied by officials from their respective *Basho* guard posts and the visits were made periodically. According to the *Niikappu Basho Bunsho* written in June, 1822, and which seems to be a report made on the occasion of transferring the administration of that *Basho*,[3] their turn came every five years. When the year of the visit came around, the names of those who were to make the trip, i.e. *Otona*, *Kozukai*, two ordinary Ezo to act as servants and porters, interpreter and one guard, were submitted, together with a list of presents, to the Magistrate of Matsumae and to the Hakodate Office in the early part of February. The group would set off during the latter part of March when the roads were open. The expenses involved in making the journey were borne by the *Basho* contractor concerned and were seventy-five mon per person per day plus whatever added expenses were incurred if extra people or horses had to be hired. At those *Basho* which fished for salmon the visit could be postponed if it happened to coincide with the fishing season which came about every other year,

[1] Ezochi narabini Hakodate torihakarai kadokado moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Memorandum on the administration of Ezo and Hakodate), *Kyuuei Kōki*, Suppl. 5 in *SHS* 5: 745 ff.

[2] "Since it has been decided that the visits would take place every five years beginning in 1816, next year which is 1823 will be the turn of this *Basho*." Nikkapu Basho hikiwatashi shō (Documents concerning the transfer of Nikkapu *Basho*) (written in 1822) from *Ezo Zassho* (Miscellaneous materials on Ezo). This indicates that in 1816 Ezo was divided into five districts in accord with the number of *Basho* and that the natives of each district rotated their visits in turn.

[3] Gorei Ezojin tetsuzuki chōsho (Procedures whereby the Ezo may express their gratitude) in *Ezo Zassho*. In *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 1: 9.

On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned[57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

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meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

[58] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

[57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

[58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

1:Takakura 7 H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
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177]

Etorofu, next to Russian territory, was where the government concentrated its efforts. When Kondō Juzo began his exploration of the island, the natives were given Japanese clothes and a number of Ezo were persuaded to shave their beards,[59] dress their hair *à la* Japanese, and change their names.[60] Furthermore, the terms "headman" for *Otona* and "villagers" for ordinary natives were encouraged and the home village system was established in that island. The importance the Bakufu attached to Etorofu was rewarded by a considerable change there in the way of life. Those Ezo on nearby islands such as Haushibi of Sharushamu, Uruppu and Ichiyangemushi of Rashowa who had accepted Russian customs altered their ways to those of Japan. It is reported that as evidence of such acceptance of things Japanese *Kaizoku-hai* ["transformation cards"] were issued to be worn around the neck.[61] According to Yamazaki Hanzō's *Ezo Nikki,* the as-

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women is that it is customary for the Ezo to take their wives with them on trips. If someone should fall ill en route, the women could look after him and furthermore, these women, bearing tatoos, may stop the practice after observing the people of Edo." *Kyumei Kōki,* Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 553.

"In regard to bringing Ezo to Edo it is a good idea in promoting friendly relationships with them and in influencing them with our ways of doing things. However, if expediting this be the sole purpose of having them go to Edo, then the suggestion cannot be approved. The general trend among the Ezo is that of a gradual alteration of their customs and it does not seem wise to make a special effort in that direction. Therefore, it is recommended that natives be brought to Edo some other time when it is deemed more fit and that it not be done now." *Ibid.,* 567.

[59] "The beard was shaved and buried. This was called *Higetsuka* [Beard mound]."

[60] For example, the *Sō Otona* Rurishibi of Shana was renamed Rurisuke and the *Sō Kozukai* Nuntorushi was renamed Higesuke. *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 20.

[61] The following is found in Abe Masami, Kaitakushi Sanken jidai no Ainu kyōiku (Education among the Ainu during the Kaitakushi and Sanken periods), *Rekishi Chiri* 37: 166.

"The tags were made of brass, copper or wood. It is said that the brass tags were given to *Waki Otona,* copper tags to *Sō Kazukai* or *Otona,* and wooden tags to ordinary natives. On the occasion of the Russian invasion in 1807 there were rumors that natives in the possession of such tags would be put to death whereupon all the natives are said to have disposed of them. The sample given below is said to have been in the possession of Hirano Suteroku, grandson of Tohira, who in 1882 donated it together with other articles to the Tōkyō Museum. (The shape is oval.)

—Front—

Granted in the Kinoto-ushi year of Bunka [1805]
The resident of Etorofu, Greater Japan
Tohei
Conversion Tag
Previous name
Toiken
Born at Pinnepetsu

—Reverse Side—

Kikuchi Sonai (Seal)
Sekiya Mohachiro (Seal)"

[P.78(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

482
484
291

AN OLD-TIME MAN
(Very characteristic, fifty years ago)

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu having informed me that it was very far, and that I could only reach it at night. I crossed the stream in a "dug-out," and found the track on the other side. I walked fast, for the most part through a thickly-wooded country, and at about sunset I reached Tetcha. The distance from Kutcharo, I should think, is about ten or twelve miles. Tetcha is an Ainu village, near which a few Japanese houses have been built. The Kutcharo River intersects it, and the sulphur train from Yuzan stops here to take water on its way to Shibetcha. The train had gone through some hours previously, and I was left the alternative of walking on to Shibetcha, twenty miles further, or of sleeping at Tetcha. I had walked twenty or twenty-two miles already that day, and I felt in very good form. I knew that it would be full moon that night; and walking through a forest by moonlight has always had a great charm for me. Watching the shadows, with their thousand different fantastic forms, running in and out through the trees and playing round them, has the same weird fascination for me as one of Tieck's tales, or the suggestive music of an æolian harp. Some of the Ainu and a Jap entreated me not to attempt to cross the forest at night, for wolves and bears were numerous, they said, and in all probability I should be attacked by them. This last announcement, which I was destined to hear every day in Yezo, and which, of course, I did not believe, decided me to go, and I started.

"But," cried after me the astonished Japanese, "*anata micci wakarimasen!*"—"You do not know the way!"

"*Kamaimasen, Sayonara!*"—"It little matters; good-bye!" was my reply; and I left him standing there perplexed, looking after me as if I had been a phenomenon.

The Japanese in Yezo and the Ainu never on any account travel far at night; and as for going through a forest alone, unprotected, and without knowing the way, they evidently regarded it as something more reprehensible than folly. Two days previously, when in the train, I had noticed that the railway described a curve several miles long, and I knew then that by cutting across I could considerably shorten my way. When I entered the forest, the sun with its last rays was casting warm tints on the tops of the pine-trees. Everything

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu men are indolent, save under excite- 147
ment. They will cover a long distance—say forty miles—in one 484
day, bear-hunting, and not suffer from great fatigue, while they will not be able to walk half that distance under less exciting conditions. The average distance which an Ainu can walk in one day on a fairly level track does not exceed twenty-five miles at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. The distance he can run would not go beyond ten English miles, and this is partly from want of training, as he never runs if he can help it. If, however, the walk of twenty-five miles, or the run of ten miles, had to be kept up for several days in succession at the same pace, few Ainu could manage to hold out for more than three days at most; while a walking average of fifteen miles and a running average of six miles each day could be kept up for a week. In walking and running women are as good as men in one day's distances; but, contrary to what they are in manual labour, they lack endurance in locomotion, and break down after the second or third day. Men regard [481]
running as unbecoming after childhood. "If we must go quick, why not go on horseback?" says the practical Ainu, who is as perfect a horseman as the Indian.

When riding, he is able to cover a distance of fifty-five miles 492
easily in one day on a good pony, and about seventy miles if [484]
he changes his quadruped four times. Both men and women ride in the same fashion, astride, and nearly always on bare-back, or with simply a bear-skin thrown over the horse. Pack-saddles are only used when carrying wood, fish, sea-weed, or other heavy articles; and though the Japanese of Yezo designate these by the name of *Ainu kurah* (Ainu saddles), they are only in reality rough imitations of their own pack-saddles. Though women do ride on occasions, it is the men 492
who are the true equestrians. From their infancy they spend 857
a great deal of their time on horseback, while women ride only when obliged. Being, therefore, accustomed from their earliest days to ride pretty nearly from morning to night, men can stand many days of hard riding, and are not so easily exhausted as by walking or running. The Ainu are good at horse-racing, as we have seen at the Piratori festival, but 526
foot-racing, even when the distance was short, gave but poor results.

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women, and 080

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usually done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member households of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance, those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[9]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*, and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

Food-getting Activities.

Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order to sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic importance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form, the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

Ainu 186
Kamchadal RY3

K 195 131 167 A 175 /127 cont./ The next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

A K 174 103 192

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

K A 175 563 484 Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

K [101]

Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them: for many years they have entered into marriages

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K /127 cont./
175 with them, and since they moved back and forth between the
563 mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the
484 Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living
K farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-
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5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

A
K
114
101
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[113]

6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile